that invaded our rights, insulted our flag, or trespassed upon us ? It has been said, Sir, it is getting to be quite fashionable—I hear it on the streets—not from any friends of ours—that this is not a Government of force, that it was not made for force, and cannot be kept together by force. It is precisely for that reason that it can be kept together by force. If this Government had been imposed upon the people by some tyrant, without first obtaining the will of the people, then it is perfectly true that any one of the States would have erfectly true that any one of the States would have the right to throw it off at will. But it is because it the right to throw it off at will. But it is because it was a free, untrammeled compact entered into by the States, each one to the other, and each to all the rest, that they are bound by the terms of the compact—that there is power to enforce the compact. I have had some experience in my early days that a debt contracted voluntarily may be enforced by law. Debts are not created and cannot be contracted by force; and it is for that very reason, because it was a free, voluntary act on the part of each State that the compact can be enforced. This Government is not a rope of sand. It cannot be broken up by any party when they think proper. If they think it is a just cause for the dissolution of the Union, that one man has been elected, it cannot be questioned that it would be equally good cause for dissolution that any other candidate was not elected. And, massanch as no instance has occurred in which any candidate has been other candidate was not elected. And, inasmuch as no instance has occurred in which any candidate has been elected who did not receive a nomination, it would be equally good cause that another had not been nominated. Let us take Seward, the chief man in the Republican party. Suppose Seward had had sufficient control over his party in the State of New-York to have indused them to say that masmuch as Seward was not nominated, and therefore could not be elected, they would go out of the Union. What would be the sentiment of Virginia? It would be the public centiment of the Union. And yet it is just as fair as that any State should second because Lincoln was elected. I was pleased to hear that distinguished gentlemah who sat upon your left (Mr. Preston), say that he did not dispair of the Union. I soom that the clouds look black and threatening. South Carolina dechired herself out of the Union, by ordinance, in 1833, and yet the Union was not dissolved. And if she were set up at anction, and all property of every description within her borders was sold, she would not sell for enough to compensate for the mischief she has already done by the depreciation of the value of property, and disturbance and derang ement of the general business of the country. I can say that we do not dispair of the Kenhillie. We and not one it takes who dispar of the Republic. We still have the Constitution, we still have patriotic men among us, conservative men of the North as well as of the South. I have every reason to believe that if a proper and indicious system is adopted, if reason can be substituted for bullyism and threats, and per-suasion for crivination and recrimination, there will of the South. I have every reason to believe that if a proper and judicious system is adopted, if reason can be substituted for bullyism and threats, and persuasion for crimination and recrimination, there will be no great difficulty in having all these obnexions laws of the North repealed. It is not to be doubted for a moment. Vermont, it is true, has refused to repeal her Personal Liberty bill, and yet we see a considerable portion of her citizens who voted for its repeal. I have a letter from a gentleman in the city of Philadelphia, who attended a dinner given by the Republican party in that city, who save it was there urged to repeal these laws. The Athany Journal, edited by that gentleman who has been so vehemently denounced in the South (Thurlow Weed), has come out for the repeal of those laws. And let me tell you that Seward and Weed, and the Republican party in New-York, will be for their repeal. And if Pennsylvania and New-York set the example, the smaller States will follow. I have the most reliable intelligence from gentlemen assuring me that Lincoln is an Old-Line Henry Clay Whig, and will administer the Government on the same principles, as nearly as he can And yet South Carolina shall drag Virginia into rebellion against the Government of the United States! But suppose the Northern States did not listen to our remonstrance and advice, there is still a remedy. I have an abiding confidence that there will be a way found out by which it will be done. Congress and if not by this, by the next—to do all that is required to preserve the interests of the South. I am not a defender of the course of the North. The North has aggressed, and so, too, has the South. But I believe it to be in the power of the present Congress to pass laws that will accomplish all that can be desired or demanded. We so the people of virginis have no right to control the legislation of the other States. We cannot control the legislation of the state. On state an control the Legislature of this State. We cannot control the legislat the Legislature of this State. No State can control the Legislature of another State. Our claim and demand is on Compress and on the President of the United States. Now, Sir, suppose that the present Congress were to pass a law, first of all, to relieve the fugitive Slave Law of that odious feature which I have referred to elsewhere, which will add to rather than impair the efficiency of the law, and then accompany it with another act of legislation declaring it to be a felony of the highest grade for any citizen of any State to recome, or attempt to rescue, a slave in the custody of the officer of the law, or after he has been restored to his master, and that if the Government of the United States should itself undertake the responsiseried and hold it a charge against the State that thus permits the violation of the law within her limits. Le Congress cott is, pass a law proclaiming it to be a felony of the highest grade, and imposing a penalty on those who attempt or succeed in attempting to rescue a slave, and hold it a charge against the State. Then in regard to the Territories. Let them do what ought never to have been undone. Let them establish the Missouri compromise line and extend it to the Pacific, and it will satisfy every Siste of the Union, except South Caro-lina, which does not mean to be satisfied. We apprehend nothing from South Carolina. She is not mad enough to go out of the Union by herself. A remedy hend nothing from South Carolina. She is not may enough to go out of the Union by herself. A remedy is at band. If South Carolina declare herself out of the Union, she would still be a State of the Union in a state of rebellion. Let the Old Public Functionary do what he thinks proper; and from a hasty reading of his message I think it would be hard to tell what he is going to do. He has a divided Cabinat, and a divided message—a portion of it to sait his own views and a majority of the Cabinet. He takes the ground, which I have taken her totore, that under the articles of confederation the Union was perpetual, and that the object of the Constitution was to make a more perfect Union and that the Canstitution gave Congress the power to perpetuate tution was to make a more perfect Union, and that the Constitution gave Congress the power to perpetuate itself; and he cites the laws of 4794 and 1807 to show that the power is given the Federal Government to preserve the laws. Yet, if South Carolina declare herself out of the Union, there is no power on the face of the earth to keep her in. Now, let Congress pass the laws that I have intimated; let the President of the United States, whoever he may be, transfer the Castom-House in the city of Charleston on board a ship in the harbor of Charleston; let him stop all cotton from going out, let him stop all the mail facilities and prethe harbor of Charleston; let him stop all cotton from going out, let him stop all the mail facilities and prevent all renitrances from going in, and she would not only be a bankrupt, without the means of supporting her own citizens for twenty days, but you would have a revolution of the people there in less than that time. There is less freedom there among the museus than in Austria or Russia. The people would begin to inquire why this was, and then South Curr lina would have to commence war, and the United States would act on the defensive. But the President says he cannot execute the law, because the judge and mass had have resigned. In the name of heaven, why doesn't be appent a judge! Where is Caleb Cushing? Where is Judge Black? They are both asystants for doesn't be appoint a judge! Where is Caleb Cushing?
Where is dudge Black? They are both aspirants for
the Supreme Court. Could not Caleb Cushing execute
the law in South Carolins—be, the President of the
Challeston Convention? The President of the United Charleston Convention? The President of the United States to assert to the people that he has no power to execute the law, because a judge has resigned and there is no marshall there? Let him appoint them. I am not much of an aspirant, but might accept the marshal-hip with Cushing to stand at my back as judge. But there is a peaceful remedy. I am against war if the Constitution and the Union cannot be preserved without force; but if the Constitution and the Union cannot be preserved without force, then I am for using force. Yes, gentlemen, if this were a case arising in any Is preserved without force, then I am for using force. Yes, gentlemen, if this were a case arising in any Northern State, we should all be in favor of enforing the law. Now, I am for enforcing the law, hirly and importally, and simultaneously in the North and in the South. If you ask that a distinction shall be made in favor of the Southern States, the North has an equal right to the same, and I am opposed to any discrimination being made between one State and another, because when you do, you destroy the equality of the States to which you are pledged, and for which you are clausering. I am aware, gentlemen, that I am tresponsing on your parameter, gentlemen, that I am tresponsing on your parameter. aware, gentlemen, that I am trespassing on your pa-tience. [Cries of "Go on."] I have said enough to indicate my views on the subject, views which I have indicate my views on the subject, views which I have entertained for the past thirty years, and which, should I live so long, will remain unchanged for thirty years to come. Now, in reference to a Convention. There is one Convention that I think might be called with much propriety, and it is a Convention of the border States—as suggested by your President—Missouri Kentacky, Temmesce, Maryland, and Virginia, and North Carolina, if she chooses to be represented. We are the parties chiefly interested, and who stand between the extreme North and South, who have to bear the brant of the battle, to do the fighting, while South Carolina evades the responsibility of her own acts. I have no objection to go into Convention with these States, and should be glad to see it. I am interly opposed to a Southern Convention to which fisch ands are to be sent. Because, unless we can have harmonious consultation and a cisposition to compromise fairly with the North, we not only can accomplish no good, but would do much harm. I see no advantages to be derived from a National Convention, where the South will be in a deplacable missoury and have no power, and open the

majority of the North might determine. But, most of all, I an opposed to a Convention in this State. In the majority of the North might determine. But, most of all, I am opposed to a Convention in this State. In the present disturbed state of the public mind. Virginia is in no mood to act calmly, as the interests of the country demand. We have the best reason for supposing, because it was exhibited in the last Presidential election, that it would be a question of Democracy or Anti-Democracy, instead of Union or Disusion, and we would have simply a Democratic Convention, and I am afraid to trust those who have already brought us to our present extremity. I am afraid to put the interests of the State and the fate of the National Government in the lands of the Democracy of Virginia. I am not, therefore, for a State Convention. If my counsels are of any avail, if anything that I may have said or done in the past would entitle my counsels to any weight as to the future, I beg the peoble of Virginia to set their faces against a State Convention, in which all their interests would be involved. There is no reason to suppose there will be more wisdom exercised in such a Convention than in the election of a member of Congress; and how many of you would be willing to trust the existence of this Government in the lands of men who are now elected representatives to the Cor press of the United States? Therefore, I implere you all, not only set your faces against it, but do all you can to prevent it. do all you can to prevent it.

5. The Higher Law-It is the law of the Perjorer of the Rebber, of the Jenuit, of the Assawin, and of the Traitor;
John Brown and William H. Seward.

Mr. Thomas Bruce of Halifax, being called upon to respond, said:

Mr. PRESIDENT: I had hoped that in the presence of so many gentlemen more capable of interesting you, more able to advise you, that a mere novice in politics, like myself, might have been passed by unnoticed. I had supposed that those members of our party who have been called upon to speak would who have been called upon to speak would have been looked up to as the true and tried leaders of the party, as the expounders of our principles, who have always stood firm to our flag, when she would have had to trail in the dust, but which now floats in triumph over us. But I state my sentiments freely. I have no claim to address to you or tribute to offer on the altar of my party, save an carnest desire to maintain our rights, and by those rights I will stand, and under our banner I will fight, as long as it carries the motto the Constitution, the Union and the enforcement of the laws. I am happy to meet the Whigs of Richmond to-night, coming as I do from a Democratic county. We have been taught there is nothing in a name, but it seems the Democratic party think there is not only a great deal in a name, but more in a letter. I think we may say the Democratic party is dead, and I hope the Whigs of Richmond will perform the last act to them, for they died for the good of the country. Therefore give them a decent burial. Bury them in the deepest culvert you can find. Everett will preach their funeral sermon, as deep the great Bell of Tennessee will ring them to heaven or to hell. But, fellow-citizens, this is no time to indulge in party feeling. Let us indulge a feeling of patriotism in the midst of the dangers threatening our country, sacrifice our party feelings on her altar, and uniting with the patriotism of the whole country, make one effort to preserve he Constitution and protect the rights of the South intact in the Union, if possible. The important ques ion before us is what shall Virginia do in the face of the election of a Black Republican President, in the face of the election of a Black Republican President, in the ferritories. Mr. Lincoln's election is not cause for a dissolution of the Union, but there are others who have the same institutions we have, who are linked to us by a common destiny, who have a word to say in the matter, and the fear is that the Cotton States, surring under a sense have been looked up to as the true and tried stitutions we have, who are linked to us by a common destiny, who have a word to say in the matter, and the fear is that the Cotton States, smarting under a sense of injuries and influenced by passion, may secede. South Carolina will, I fear, leave the Union. And when once the door is opened, her example will be followed. How are we to get those States back? Will it be by coercion? No, gentlemen. And when the first tramp of a Federal army shall be heard on the scill of Virginia, every true son of the South will instantly grasp his musket and plant his body in the gap to prevent the passage of the Federal force. Then how shall we bring them back? It can only be by the people of Virginia meeting in Convention and taking Southern ground. Let us say to the South, we think you are acting with too much haste. We ask you to meet us in a Southern Convention, and there discuss our guievances, and there demand our consitu-

Republic. I look around and see pictured on all faces bright hopes for the future. If you had stood in the House of Representatives on the day on which the President's Message was read, you would have thought the last ray of hope was gone forever. There was a gloom on the countenance of every member. How different the scene to-night. This Union, under which we have derived so many blessings, which were handed down to us, should be transmitted to our posterity unimpaired. Will you do it, my countrymen? Or will you let the blood be spilled upon your borders? Will you blight the hopes of the greatest ration under beaven? South Carolina dissolve the Union! She has ran before she is struck. Are we to go out of the Urion without making an effort to fight for it! Virginia is the great break water between Abolitionism at the North and Dissuion at the between Abelitionism at the North and Disauton at the Scuth. South Carolina, who never lost a negro, is trying to break up this confederacy. Virginia has been the great sufferer. My father has lost, in Oberlin, Obio, one hundred thousand dollars worth of negroes, and yet the sentiment which he has taught me is, live or die, survive or perish, we go for the Union and the Constitution. We mean to fight for our rights in the Union, and death to all traitors out of it. We entered into this Government as a perpetual institution, and no State has a right to go out of it. As the immortal State has a right to go out of it. As the immortal Lawrence said, "Never give up the ship." And so say I, gentlemen, never give up the Union.

10 THE HONEST MAN I Of every section and every degree, who a prompt to acknowledge, and to fulful the contract of his form Mr. F. T. Anderson of Rockbridge, the President of he Electoral College, responded to this sentiment as

Mr. PRESIDENT-I am no politician, and I am n reaker, unexpectedly I have been called upon to address you, against my remonstrance. I am a planta-tion man, simple in my habits. I am not accustomed to such a brilliant scene as the one before me. But I nm a Virginian, and

"Lives there the man with soul so dead, Who never to himself hath said. This is my own, my native land?" I have performed to-day the most pleasing and delightful duty I ever performed, that of casting my vote for those stanch and patriotic men, Bell and Everen. For the first time the Electoral vote of Virginia has been cast for a Whig President and Vice-President. I trust it will not be the last. I am surrounded by circumstances of the most inspiring char-neter, a situation in which I have never been placed before. To me it is, indeed, "a feast of reason, and a flow of soul." I say, fellow-attizens, though it may be a flow of soul." I say, fellow-citizens, though it may be the first time that Virginia has cast her electoral vote as now, I trust in God it will not be the list. And would to God, for the sake of ourselves, for the sake of the country, for its present peace and security, and its future prosperity and glory, that the vote were as effectual to place Bell in the President's Chair. But this we cannot hope for. That cloud, which but a few years ago was not bigger than a man's hand, has grown and expanded until it over each the half of this bemisphere with a pall of that cloud, which but a few years ago was not bigger that a name hand, has grown and expanded natil is over rasts the half of this bemisphere with a pall of darkness. We see the larid lightning, we hear the runbing itunder, the slip of State in which we are embarked is rolling upon the billows, and exposed to de truction. We are launched upon it. If it sinks, we all go down together. How is this flood of rain to be arrested? Is this Union to be dissolved? Are we in the midst of Revolution? What is the romedy? Every voice to-night that I have heard has been respected to the call for Union. But how is that Union to be preserved? Virginia has rights in that Union to be preserved? Virginia has rights in that Union, and under the Constitution which our fathers have given us, and which have descended to us as the heirings of the terms of contract by all the parties to it? I say has to my darked have cause to complain. There have been sugressions upon our rights by the Northern power, Leny Virginia will stand by that Sonitern States have cause to complain. There have been sugressions upon our rights by the Northern power, Leny Virginia will stand by that Sonitern States have cause to complain. There have been sugressions upon our rights by the Northern power, Leny Virginia will stand by that Sonitern States have cause to complain. There have been sugressions upon our rights by the Northern power, Leny Virginia will stand by that Sonitern States for the Consideracy. I am a Union New the contract of the Union without con-

rean, but I am a Union man upon the practiple of political equality. It has been contended that a state of this Confederacy has a right to secode from the Union. I deny it. There is no provision in the Confederacy has a right to secode from the Confederacy has a right to secode from the sage, that a State has no right to secode from the Union, but, as we are told by Mr. Bothaman, in his Message, that a State has no right to secode from the union of his Message he declares that a State has the right to secode—that there is no power in the Government to compel her to remain in the Union, or to enforce the laws. If a State has a right to secode from the Union, is it not a violation of her obligation, or of the obligation of our fathers, as mentioned in the toast to which I respond. If she can with impunity and without a violation of the contract of our fathers withdraw from the Union, then I admit that the citizens of that State are absolved from the obligation to obey the draw from the Union, then I admit that the citizens of that State are absolved from the obligation to obey the Lws of the Federal Government. But if a State has no right to withdraw from the Union, then her seces-sion cannot absolve her citizens from the obligation to obey the Lws, but the Federal Government may enforce the laws upon her citizens, and if they resist it is treason. I was alonged with the idea. on to reson. I was pleased with the idea suggested by our President (Mr. Macfarland), and which was enforced with great ability by Mr. Botts, in favor of a Convention of the border Southern States, Virginia, Maryland, Tennessee, Missouri, and North Carolina, if she is Tennessee, Missouri, and North Carolina, if she is a willing to come into the Convention. I am opposed to a Convention of the Southern States; I am not willing to trust the interests and the rights of Virginia to a Convention of the Southern States. I have no faith in he power and sentiments which rule now in the Cotton States. I have no faith in a Southern Confederacy. If a Unin and a Constitutional Government, framed by Washington and his coadjutors, the wisest men of that day, under the circumstances in which our Government was framed, after we had passed through the struckle of a perilon was in defense of our liberties. err.m.cai was framed, after we had passed through the struggle of a perilous war in defense of our liberties and our inde-pendeace, cannot survive one generation, how long would a government last framed by a con-federation of Southern States? If a government and a Union, cemented by the blood of our fathers and produced by perilo endured by them, cannot outlast the generation which framed it, how long would a govern-ment last framed by the wise men of South Carolina and the Southern Cotton States? My sympathies are with the South, but my interests and the interests of all dear to me on earth are staked in and associated and the Southern Cotton States? My sympacines are with the South, but my interests and the interests of all dear to me on earth are staked in and associated with the State of Virginia. We should not lose sight of our Virginia interest. She seems to be ignored by the Cotton States. They propose to dissolve the Union and form a Southern Confederacy, without conterring with Virginia. They tell us Virginia is demoralized, and not willing to enter into a Conference. Well, then, I am not willing. I think it would be degrading to Virginia to propose a Southern Convention. But let us unite with the conservative States, with Maryland, Temessee, Kentucky, Missouri, and North Carolina, and consult together as to what course we should take for the preservation of our rights in the perions circumstances which surround us. I thank you, Mr. President, for the suggestion of that idea, for I think it originated with you; and I trust it will be taken up by the conservative men of Virginia, and carried out; that we will say to the South, we have rights, and duties, and responsibilities restirg upon us, which we feel ourselves at least competent to take cure of, that we have interests that are petent to take care of, that we have interests that are not exactly in harmony with yours, and that we will do what is right and proper to preserve the Confederacy which we have lived under so long. The sentinent to which I have to respond is the conduct of an honest man. We are teld that the honest man is the not leet work of God, and will regard the obligations of a contract which his father entered into. Our inthers entered into a compact of union, and now shall we abide by it? Will a violation of the contract by a inthers entered into a compact of union, and now shall we abide by it? Will a violation of the contract by a portion of the Northern States absolve us from the obligation of adhering to it? No. I say we will require them to comply with the obligations of that compact. And what has caused all the present difficulty? Has it been caused by the Government which our fathers framed? Has there been any aggression upon the Southern States by the Government of the Federal Union? Has it not passed all the laws we require for our rights? Have not those who are invested with the power and the trust to enforce them? Have not the Judiciary decided invariably in favor of Southern rights? What, then, have we to complain of? I admit there has been default in the execution of these laws, and there is the difficulty. The Fugnitive Slave Law has not been enforced, and why? Because the Democratic party have been faithless to their trust. When Fillmore was President, he proclaimed to the people of the United States, North and South, that the laws should be enforced; that all the powers with which he was invested, civil and milita-

the present day; and I do not believe that men can now be found of equal capacity and moral worth to form such a Government as our fathers formed and transmitted to us. I, therefore, go for the Union, Constitution, and enforcement of the laws; and if we had succeeded in the election of Bell and Everett, I doubt not that the laws would have been enforced. I do not a knowledge the right of any State to second from the Union; but I do know that there is power in the Government to enforce submission to the laws of the Union. Let us hope that these laws will be enforced, and that, under the benign influence of a wide-spread parriorism, our glorious Union will be preserved now and forever.

11 THE RIGHTS OF THE SOUTH—Let her effects to maintain them be in the right direction.

Mr. B. H. Shackleford of Culpeper responded, in sub-

stance, as follows: It is with pleasure I respond to the sentiment which has just been read. I have for twenty years been sus-taining the rights of the South. I stand here to-night to continue to support them, and I must be excused for saying that there has not been a sentiment expressed here to-night by any speaker, excepting those untered by Mr. Bruce, the gentleman from Halifax, which find a response in my own for the support of those rights. We hear the question of treason and coercion if any Southern State go out of the Union. As an humble Southern State go out of the Chion. As in handow citizen of the South, I say there can be no treason in the South. I assert that wherever and whonever South Carelina, Georgia, and Alabama shall plant their stand-ard I will defend them against the Federal Govern-ment. I say here, consider this question as you may, we are not divided on party lines. And when a re-southly against the southern of the southern produce on a resistance. ment. I say here, consider this question as you may, we are not divided on party lines. And when a respectable portion of the country resolve on a resistance to the aggressions of the Black Republican party, and determine to go out of the Union, it is not secession, it is revolution, based upon the rights of the South. And shall we home be called on to consider whether we will feld our arms and allow them to be subjugated by an Abdition majority in the North? Sir, I am called upon to respond to the "rights of the South." What are the rights of the South? They are guaranteed rights of the Constitution—to hold slave property—the right of property in the District of Columbia—the right of property in the District of Columbia—the right of participation in the Territories of the United States. If one are among the guaranteed rights of the South in the issue forced upon them, and in looking upon this issue we are called upon to look at the wrongs inflicted upon as. Our rights have been invaded from the beginning of the Government by an Abellition party at the North, and we have now arrayed against us a majority of them in the House of Representatives, in the State Legislatures, and in every department of the Northern Government, strong enough and ready to subjugate the South and destroy her institutions. The question now conces to us what are the remedies of the South? Let her efforts to maintain her rights be in the proper direction. Is that direction in willing and service authorises into the Northern majority? Are we to fold our arms and cry Union always, and present no front to the domineering insults of the majority of the North? As a Southern Confederacy, in a Southern Confederacy, in a Southern Convention, and if we cannot preserve this Union with the guaranties them in a State Convention, in a Southern Convention, and if we cannot preserve this Union with the guaranties provided by the Constitution, let the Union go, and we will preserve the South. It is no meeto talk of old times. New questions are forced upon us. We cannot sing peans now to the Union, when our rights are assailed by the North. The crisis in the convention of the convention of the crisis in the convention of the convention of the crisis.

sultation. She should consult Virginia, and all the other States interested in the question; but should she go out, it is no longer a question of secession. I deny the right of secession; but if they go out, it is revolution. And a question arises whether you will allow Liacoln, with his Northern power, to exercise force in the Federal Government and come down upon these recurant States and subjugate them upon this important question? I will never submit. Sir, I am at a less to know how any man can rise on the soil of Virginia and advocate that it would be right to coerce any Southern State, under any circumstances. Is that advocating the rights of the South? Gentlementalk of the rights of the South under the Constitution. They are the rights of the South under the Constitution. They are the rights of they reside. We may appeal, they say, to the Federal Government for protection. Suppose the Federal Government should say, We do not concede the necessity now to interfere, we do not intend now to interfere for protection; what is to be done? Are we to be left to the majority in the Congress of the United States? What do we stand upon? Is it a mere political discussion? If it was a mere construction of the Constitution, I should concur with the majority of the Whig party, and with gentlemen who decide against the right of secession. But it is no such question. The issue is forced upon us. We are compelled to take sides for or against the South. The crisis is upon us. If the Federal Government sent forces across Virginia to coerce South Carolina, is there a Southern heart that would not leap in its bosom to defend South Carolina from the "Wide-Awakes" of the North? The rights of the South constitutional South Carolina from the "Wide-Awakes" of the North? The rights of the South consist in a firm and united front. It is too late to talk about constitutional rights. We must call the people of the State in Convention. Let them say what we are to do. Mr. Shackleford continued his remarks in the same strain to a mark greater hearth. to a much greater length.

The President next read the the following toast: The PRESIDENT: Gentlemen, I have a toast to propose, which I am sure will reach the heart of every conservative man of all parties, and to which all conservative parties are under undying obligations. The toast is, I think, very happily expressed. It is:

12. Paramoruse—The lost Pleiad from the political heavens. When love of his country is cherished as the highest attribute and ornament of every etitizen, and particitism supersedes every other ises, the Republic will be safe and invuinceable.

This toast was responded to by L. H. Chandler, esq., of Norfolk City, who paid a glowing eulogium to the grent leader of the Whig party, in the course of which he alluded to the present condition of the country, and expressed himself strongly in favor of maintaining the Union antil every expedient to save it had failed. He affirmed the right of secession, but thought the action of the Cotton States too hasty. His speech was one of remarkable eloquence, and frequently interrupted by a plause. At the conclusion of his remarks, Mr. Chan ler offered the following sentiment:

13. Haver Clay—The Leader whom it was glory to follow the Lawgiver whole it was patriotism to obey. Moses sleeps Monb. Is there no Joshus to lead us through the sea of troubl

This sentiment was responded to by Mr. Claybrook, a Breckinridge and Lane elector, one of the invited The next toast was

11. Text tonst was

14. Text ALEY AND NAVY—Like all the other agencies of the
Gewennient, "instituted for the common beaself, protection
and security of the people," they can only be employed to guard
their rights and defend their liberties.

The President next read the following toust: 15. The Women of AMERICA-Mount Vernon was their speed Exercit spoke.

Marmaduke Johnson, esq., of Richmond City, re-

s; onded to this teast as follows:

Mr. PRESIDENT: This is a very late or a very early

hour for a speech-I know not which to call it. I am summoned to respond in compliment to Edward Everett and the Women of America; and I trust, Sir, that or in this? Have not these who are invested with soil of Virginia, every true son of the South will instantly grasp his maket and plant his body in the gap to prevent the passage of the Federal force. Then how shall we bring them back? It can only be by the people of Virginia needing in Convention and taking Southern ground. Let us say to the South, we think you are acting with too much haste. We ask you to meet us in a Southern Governton, and there demand our constitutional rights of the North. Then, if the North refuse, we go out, recently in the south of the total of the total rights of the North. Then, if the North refuse, we go out, recently in the south of the total of the total rights of the North. Then, if the North refuse, we go out, recently in the south of the total of the total of the total rights of the North. Then, if the North refuse, we go out, recently in the south of the total of the total rights of the North. They are to be rulers in this Government for the next four years. Are we to see it carried out without any attempt to resire! I tell you this idea of fighting in the Union is an erroneous one. Let but the first gin the Union is an erroneous one. Let but the first gin the Union is an erroneous one. Let but the first gin the Union is an erroneous one. Let but the first gin the Union is an erroneous one. Let but the first gin the Union is an erroneous one. Let but the first gin the Union is an erroneous one. Let but the first gin the Union is an erroneous one. Let but the first gin the Union is an erroneous one. Let but the first gin the Union is an erroneous one. Let but the first gin the Union is an erroneous one. Let but the first gin the Union is an erroneous one. Let but the first gin the Union is an erroneous one. Let but the first gin the Union is an erroneous one. Let but the first gin the Union is an erroneous one. Let but the first gin the Union is an erroneous one control of the land the point of the band of the Union. He was should be an errored successors, whose proteins have b my torgue may cleave to my mouth and my right hand forget its cunning when I shall be incapable of respond-State or States. In what a humiliating position—and I implore the attention of gentlemen from the country, when they so back to their homes, to take it into consideration, if they will concur with my own sontiments on the subject, as a States Right man, I implore them to communicate with me, and ask themselves how and where Virginia stands in the present attitude of political affairs. Go with South Carolina? Has all eacked us? Has she solicited our conference? Has she invited our counsel? On the contrary, she has said we shall set as a bulwark to defend her from danger; and she, isolated and alone, go out of the danger; and she, isolated and alone, go out of the Union, relying upon us not to go with ber, but de-pending upon us to remain in the Union and defend her rights and liberties out of the Union? Virginia cannot occupy a more humiliating position. And I implore gentlemen of all parties to take into consideration this fact in the question: that here is Virginia, one of the torder States, belonging to neither extreme of the Union, who is defied by South Carolina, and yet in the name of South Carolina. of the Union, who is defied by South Carolina, and yet in the name of South Carolina involved to stend by her. Now, I say of South Carolina that, if I could say and do it, I would take her by the neck and throw her into the bottomless pit, never to be resuscitated, I would do it. But, as that cannot be done, this I do say, that as an independent cannot be done, this I do say, that as an independent Virgir ian, with my naked sovereign rights, I will not satisfice Virginia honor and liberty to be caprice or the passion of any State. And if I could speak well, it I could counsel wisely, if I could be heard upon the bills or in the valleys, if my voice or my advice carried with it the prestige of experience and wisdom, I would implore the resolution. implore the people to pause in what they do and where they act. It is easy, in the imperious moment, to do wist you can never undo. If handled unwisely this Government—the parallel of which God never this Government—the parallel of which God never two charfed to man—may be in a moment detroyed, and never restored. And I ask you where you are to be and how, in the event of a dissolution of the Government? Where are your liberties to be? As I am called upon to respond to "The Women of America," where will they be? Your domestic happiness, when you are semmoned away to the battle-field, when the bright shall only you away from your homes, whether you come hack victorious or not, what will it contribute to your domestic felicity? I pray you tell me in what will your happiness be increased? You hear occimuations for the dissolution of the Union. Pray, what can be the argument? For what, I ask? Who feels the oppression of the Government? Who knows whether he lives under a Republican Government in which his leberty and his property are sate? And yet this Government must be dissolved. For what? To gratify the captice of South Carolina? You say, No. If South Carolina goes, must we ge? For what? To gratify the caprice of South Carolina? You say, No. 11 South Carolina goes, must we go? Some say, Tes. You go because South Carolina goes? Are we littled on to South Carolina? Do we belong to South Carolina? I say, for one, as a Virginian, I will stand where she is geographically located upon ber own rights, and I will will do in the last ditch before I let South Carolina lead me off, and I believe so would the women of America, and I believe so would the women of America, and I believe so would the women of America, and I believe so would the women of America, and I believe so the Missisiput shall wash the horders of Tennessee, as long as ippi shall wash the horders of Tennessee, as long as the zephyrs of heaven play around the monument on funker Hill, as long as the waters of the Potomac stall maste its own scraph marmars by the grave of Washington, so long will the affections of the women of Virginia clieg to the American Union, and cherish the patriotical of Edward Everett.

by any teacher, or without immediate exposure. Be-sides, the books are selected by the Board, and the school is visited daily by some of the members of the consists of such gentlemen as Mr. Memminger, the Claiman of the Board, and Judge Magrath, W. J. Bennett and C. M. Furman, and some of these are so frequently at the school that all the pupils know them, and would acquaint them with anything maiss, more especially as some of them have daughters and rela-tions at the select.

"The Committee, finally, are informed that the "The Committee, finally, are informed that the Board of Commissioners have seen no reason to abote their confidence in any of these teachers. The antecedents of the male teachers and their opinions were made originally the subject of inquiry, and were satisfactory. As to the female teachers, the Board do not profess to know their opinions, which could only be ascertained by instituting a private inquisition; and they thought that if these teachers quietly and faithfully discharged their duties, all was done that the public interest required. In this common your Committee lie interest required. In this opinion your Committee concur, and they take the occasion to remark that it would be a reproach upon the character of the State to discharge and expel females who had come among us at our own invitation, and are entitled to our protec-

The Charleston Mercury publishes the following list

of the suspected persons:
List of the Yankee teachers in our various public schools imported from the Abolition schools of the North, the time of their arrival in this city, together with the amount of salary paid to each:

NORMAL SCHOOL				
Names.	Where	from.	Length of time in the City.	
Mr. Sawyer, Prin Me Miss Brackett Mr Miss Price Oh Miss Otis Ma	ioneliuse do	tts	.17 months .14 months	#2 50 1,20
Mr. Geddings, Prin., Co Miss Edmonds, Prin., Ne Miss Uffam	w-York.	******	4 years	1,00
Mr. Fielden, Prin Rh Miss Thurton Ne Miss Miller Mu Montals Miss Smith, Prin Ne	w-York.	tt=	. 17 months 2 months	1,00
IMPROVING	CHARL	ESTON	HARBOR.	

The Legislature votes to use \$30,000 to dredge the Maffit Channel in Charleston Harbor, so as to admit heavy-draft vessels. George A. Trenholm, Henry Gourdin, George N. Reynolds, jr., Wilmot G. DeSaus sure, F. J. Porcher, H. E. Vincent, and the Mayor of Charleston, ex-officio, are Commissioners to superintend

the said work.

ONN TO FEED TROOPS.

Mr. Simonton offered a resolution that it be referred to the Committee on Military Affairs, to inquire into the expediency of the purchase, by the State, of a sufficient quantity of corn, to be stored in a proper granary or gran aries, for the use of any troops which may be called into the service of the State; and that the Committee report the quantity of corn requisite, the market price at which it can be procured, the place or places in which it should be stored, and the disposition which can be made of it in case any portion or whole of it should not be used by such troops, or in case no troops be re-

oured.

FREE NEGROFS SHALL NOT WORK.

In the House, on the 5th inst., the Committee on Colored Population, to whom was referred the bill to prevent free persons of color from entering into contracts for any mechanical pursuits, and prevent them carrying on any mechanical business on their own account, and for other purposes, report that they have given the subject their deliberate consideration, and are of opinion that the object of the bill is one that is demanded in justice to that class of our citizens who are brought into competition with the free colored population of our State, and recommend the bill do pass, with the following amendment, by inserting in the second line of the written bill, after the words, "free persons of color," the following: "Either by himself, agent, or guardian." Respectfully submitted.

YOLUSTEKRS WILL BE RECEIVED. YOLUSTERRS WILL BE RECEIVED.

Mr. W. C. Black offered an additional section to the

bill, "That if, in the judgment of the Governor, it shall at any time become necessary, he shall be authorized, at his discretion, to receive into the military service of the State such bodies of volunteers from the other shveholding States as may tender their services for a term of service such as may appear to him advisable."

### GEORGIA. SOUTHERN CONVENTION DISCOURAGED.

In the Georgia Senate on the 4th the resolutions in favor of calling a Convention of the Southern States

were indefinitely postponed by a vote of 58 to 45. Mr. Fulton of Columbia introduced the following

resolutions:

Resolved, That our Sensiors and Representatives in Congress be requested to propose a plan to the Congress of the Enfred States, for the appointment of Commissioners on the part of the North, and Commissioners on the part of the Scath, to provide for a peaceable dissolution of the Union, and for an equisible division of the public property between the two sections.

Heseleced, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded by his Excellency the Governors of Georgies, to each of our Scatzors and Representatives in Congress, and to each of the Governors of the

At the hour of 12 in, the Electors of the State came into the buil. They are as follows:

Alfred Colquitt of Baker; Heary R. Jackson of Chatham.

12 District, Peter Come of Buildeh: 2d, Wm. M. Slangharer of Doughty; 3d, O. C. Gibson of Spaiding; 4th. Hugh Buchanan of Coweta; 5th, Lewis Tumlin of Cases; 6th, Hardy Strickland of Fenyth; 7th, William A. Lotton of Jasper; 8th, Wm. M. Mointosh of Elbert.

The Hop. Hugh Buchanan of Coweta County was called to the chair, and John H. Steele, esq., of the County of Spalding, requested to act as Secretary.

The vetes were then received and counted, and re-

sulted as follows:

For President of the United States-Hon, John C. Breckin-idee of Kentincky -10 votes.

For Vice President Hon, Joseph Lane of Oregon-19 votes.

The Electors then adjourned.

## FLORIDA MESSAGE OF GOV. PERRY.

The Legislature of Florida met on the 26th ult., and adjourned after a session of five days. Nothing of a portance was done, beyond calling a State Convenion, to meet on the 3d of January, the delegates to be elected on the 22d of December. Gov. Perry's Mesenge is full of fight and frenzy. We quote:

"For myself, in full view of the responsibility of my position, I most decidedly declare, that in my opta-ion, the only hope the Southern States have for domesthe peace and safety, or for future respectability and prosperity, is dependent on their action now; and that the projer action is—Secretion from our faithless, pered confederates.

But some Southern men, it is said, object to se-

"But some Southern men, it is said, object to se-cession until some overt act of unconstitutional power shall have been committed by the General Govern-ment; that we ought not to secode until the President and Congress unite in passing an act unequivocally hos-ted to our institutions and fraught with immediate danger to our rights of property and to our domestic safety. My countryment if we wait for such an overt act, our fate will be that of the white inhabitants of St. Dominos. Domingo.
But why wait for this overtact of the General Gov-

"But why wait for this overtact of the General Government? What is that Government? It is but the trustee, the common agent of all the States, appointed by them to manage their afairs according to a written constitution or power of attorney. Should the sovereign States, then—the principals and the partners in the association—for a moment tolerate the idea that their action must be graduated by the will of their acrots? The idea is proposterous.

"The preumble to this Constitution recites the parposes for which it was ordained, among which are these. To establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, &c. Has it effected these objects? Let the question be answered by the forty years war waged by the Northern States upon the just rights of the Southern—by the statute books of those States, disgraced with laws expressly designed to defrand us of our proporty, and at the same time insulting as with threats of fine and imprisonment if we seek to reckinn our property even through the operation of that Constituproperty even through the operation of that Constitu-tion which they were sworn to support. Let it be an swered by the machinations of fanatics, and of cold blooded knaves, to destroy our domestic tranquillity, and this, not only by secret sedition and insurrection but also by avowed efforts, now nearly consummated

but also by avowed efforts, now nearly consummated, to pervert all the powers of a common Government to the perpetration of their flentish crimes.

"Such, fellow-citizens, is a meager outline only of the pictures of wrong and eatrage that we are expected to endure unressatingly. But shall we endure it? Heaven forbid! Forbid it the memory and example of those noble partions who pledged their 'lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor' to maintain their liberty and their rights. Shall we, the descendants of such sizes, relinquish the rich inheritance thus acquired? Must we jeopard our present security and our future existence as a free people, by stopping now or engage the abstract question of the right of secession?"

He evidently thinks not, and goes strongly for the ight to secode at any time. He recommends the calling of a State Convention, the revision of the Militia laws, and the appropriation of \$100,000 as a military fund.

He says not a word upon any other subject. The following letter from Senator Yulee was read before the General Assembly on the second day of the

To the President of the Senate and Speaker of the House of Representations of the General describing of Florida.

GENTLEMEN: Allow me, through you, to announce to the General Assembly, as the electing body under the Congress, that upon learning, at any time between the and the 4th day of March next, of the determination of Florida to disselve her union with the Northern States, I shall promptly and joyonsly return home to support the banner of the State to which my allegrance is owing, and in which my family altar is established.

\*\*Westington City. Nov. 20, 1820.\*\*

The Florida Legislature will resume its session on the 7th of January.

the 7th of January.

# LOUISIANA.

THE VIGILANCE PROCEEDINGS IN NEW-ORLEANS. The Bee of Dec. 3 has the following interesting charter of local news

We. H. Harmis of Harras Corners—Dr. A. Il.
Benerit Warran to Leave with this Housewers—
The "Warristo or the Walt."—Arrasonaments in Produces to Tar and Fratura Pounce
School Taracitle and A Stramonarias—Exertine
These Arran.—The deings of the secret Virilance
Committee, the knowledge that they are actively but
quietly investigating the cases of certain suspicious
residents in our nidet, and the belief that they will
soen ferret out an organized going of Aboilitonists and
make public some automiting disclosures, are at present
occupying every mind, almost to the exclusion of other
public topics. The citizens of New Orleans, almost to
a man, have awakened from the lethardic indifference
that has characterized our community but too long in
regard to this vitally important subject, and which was
attributed to too much to the engressing demands of
their business, or want of proper spirit, as to their
complete ignorance of the presence of a number of famelical or unprincipled men among them, who have
seen their frandulent paress for shore, encouraging
to the North. All my them, and adding them to occape
to the North. All my them, and adding them to occape
to the North. All my them, and adding them to occape
to the North. All will be the impeded by "the
law's delay" to rid our city of moral, if not actual,
incendinates. We deem that we are violating no condidence in publishing this much, has been almost,
incendinates. We deem that we are violating no condidence in publishing this much, as the public aboutled
understand sufficiently of what is going on to lead their
courtems or and aid if necessary.

In our lest issue we reported the application mude by
Wm. E. Harris for a writ of habeas corpus. It was
returnable in the First District Court at 191 o'clock
Satunday morning, and the court-room was crowded on
the coacion. One of the Sunday journals gives the
following account of the proceedings:

Attorney said be had not had the proper with the rerestance of the residence of the proper with the rediday. The Aut ing sent to me. Judge Hunt—I understand you, Mr. Mayor, to state that you gave legal counsel an opportunity to investigate the matter before you? Mayor—Yes, Sir. Judge Hurt—Cel. Field, did I not under-

—Yes, Sir. Judge Hurt.—Cel. Field, did I not understand you to say yesterday that you could not get access to the prison, or an opportunity to be present at the examination? Cel. F.—No: your Honor must have nisunderstood me. Judge Hunt here remarked that the case was closed, and the Attorney General said there was no charge against Harris. Judge Hunt.—The Court sees no legal grounds in this charge for the greest of a man who casually speaks his sentiments to a friend as to whom he would you for, and to a friend as to whom be would vote for, and, there-fore, discharges the accused, said casual remarks not being understood to be in carnest at the time by the

being understord to be in earnest at the time by the informent against the accused.

On Saturday night a Committee of three gentlemen called at the two-story brick dwelling, corner of Girod and St. Charles streets, on which is the sign, "A. H. Burnitt, M. D., Homeopathic Physician." Inquiring for this person they were ashered into his presence, and, to his astonishment and terror, proceeded to inform him that the object of their vi-it was to suggest the return to their Northern homes of himself and his "housekeeper," Mrs. Harriet P., as they were well informed as to his antecedents, and that at present he was an active Abolitanist, while his "housekeeper" was the New-Orleans correspondent of The B street Banner of Light. Of course he protested against this view of affairs, and tried to induce the belief that some of his wife's actions had been accidentally fastened upon his shoulders. He averted that his wife was a naughty woman, who did not appreciate him, but had

upon his shoulders. He averred that his wife was a saughty woman, who did not appre into him, but had shown to the embrace of an immoral young man; that she was no doubt an Abelitionist, and had probably corresponded with Abelition sheets, but as for him, he was as free from Anti-havery to at as the driven snow. The Conn little heard all that these parties had to say, but they had proofs indubitable. This Dr. B., according to the testimony of a gentleman high in standing in our community, has kept a house of a signation undercover of his professional sign, and used his title of M. D. at least very improperly. He took part in a den onstration at Cleveland, Ohio, to sympathize with "the narryy John Brown," and is a highly-dangerous character. The result of the interview on Sauurday tight was that both he and his housekeeper were warred to leave New Orleans before 2 o'clock to-night. Yesterday morning's saulight revealed upon the post of his front door a few words of friendly advice to the same intent.

ice to the same intent.

The Doctor, no doubt, passed a sleepless night, and early vesterday morning he went to the residence of Mayor Monroe, on Magazine street, and in his tribulation informed him of the circumstance of his mysterious visitors and their request. He had been living in New-Orleans for three years, had made a good deal of money out of our citizens, and expected to make a good deal more, and as he did not want to leave so on he himed the protection of the Cav. scon, he chimed the protection of the City Govern-ment. Mr. Monroe told him that if he chose to go to the Parish Prison, and voluntarily enter into confine-ment there, he would be protected, but that the solice ment there, he would be protected, but that the solice force was too meager for the necessary patrol duties without weaks ning it by detailing corps to occupy the hours of every party who was afraid of the prevailing entiment.

Last right, as we passed by the residence of Dr. Berritt, we read upon the door the following words, hat may have been placed there in earnest, but more probably by some waggish rascal:

"To be hung, on Monday, at 10 o'clock, p. m., A. H. Burrite, Abolition ist. His friends and acquaintances, and all those desir-us of joining in the extremory, will please meet here at the our above mentioned."

our shove mentioned."

It is whispered in certain circles that a teacher in ne of the public schools, who is reported to be a rank. Abolitionist, and to have tampered with shaves, and conversed too freely with free colored persons, is to be looked after as soon as the investigation results in the obtaining of indubitable proof. An individual employed on a steamboat is also to be cared for. He has been furnishing fraudulent papers for a slave man, and is suspected of doing a profitable business in that line.

The notorious George D. Welfi, who was principally